FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

OCTOBER 2, 1915

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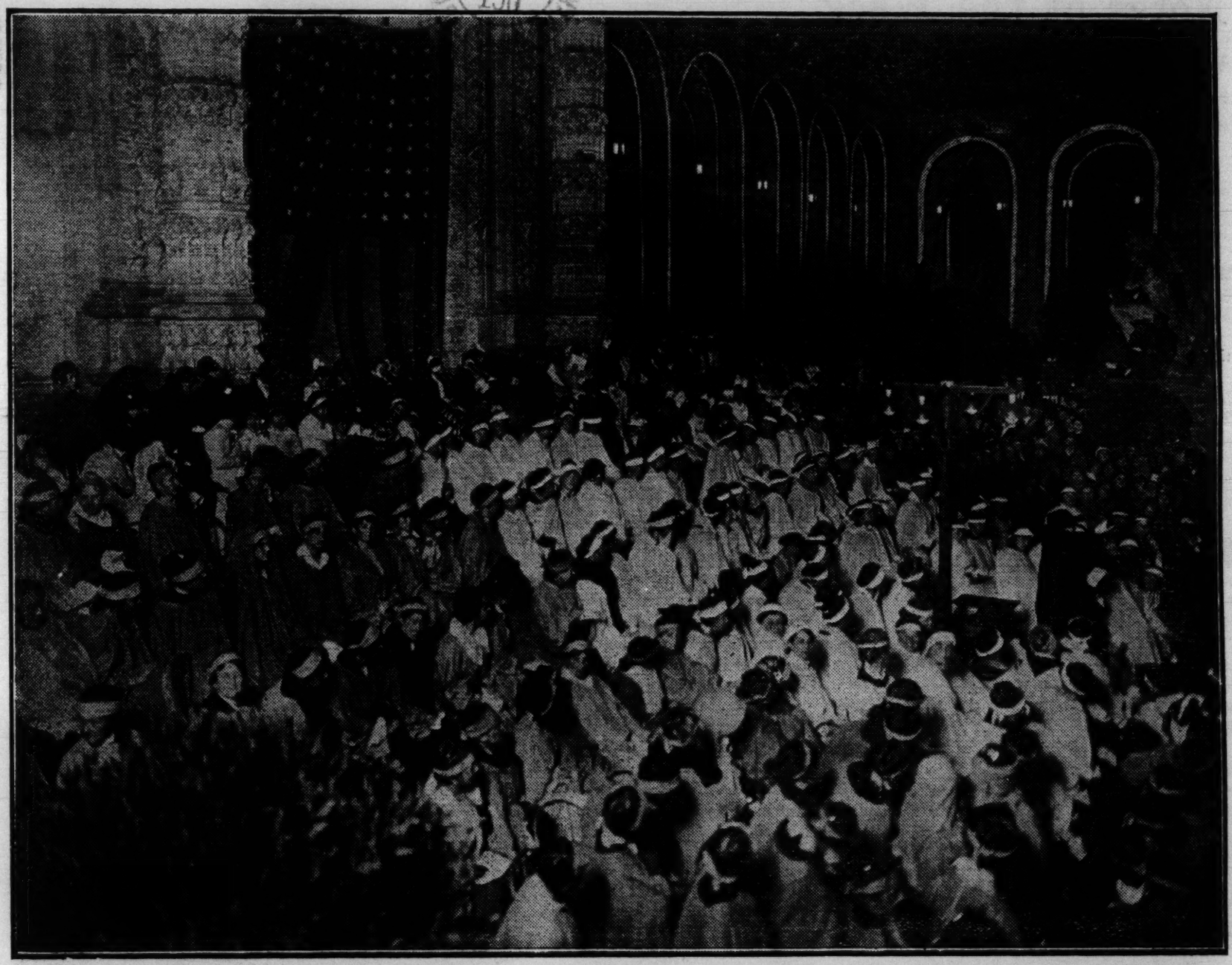

Chorus of Women in the Court of Abundance, Panama-Pacific Exposition, Singing a Song of Farewell to the Envoys Sent by the Woman Voters' Convention to Washington, D. C., with Resolutions and Petitions Demanding the Passage of the Susan B. Anthony Amendment in the Next Session of Congress.

Vol. III OCTOBER 2, 1915 No. 40

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

1420 F Street N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Notes of the Week

Women Workers Get Into Suffrage Battle

THE first autumn meeting of the Women's Trade Union League of Philadelphia, held last week, was very largely concerned with planning for the active participation of working women in these pressing last moments of the equal suffrage campaign.

The resolutions adopted at the meeting were in themselves significant:

"Realizing that women employed during the day are unable to take as prominent part in suffrage work as those suffragists in the suffrage organizations;

"Resolved, That the Women's Trade Union League express to the Suffrage Party, the County Suffrage Society, the Equal Franchise Society and all other suffrage workers in Philadelphia its hearty appreciation of their effective fight for a cause whose success means more to the wage-earners than to any other group of women.

"Resolved, That the members of the league will use every effort to impress upon the voters of Philadelphia that women wage-earners do most seriously need the power to protect themselves and influence legislation, which can come only through the right to vote.

"Resolved, That as the suffrage parade takes place on the evening of October 22, the league will organize a workers' section of the parade, and invite all women workers to march with the members under the banner of the league."

Although the chief aim and purpose of the Trade Union League is to stimulate the organization of women into trade unions, so keenly does it realize the close relation between political and economic self-government that, in this crisis in the history of Pennsylvania women for enfranchisement, all the energies of these working women will be temporarily centered upon suffrage work.

Teachers Go on a Tax Strike for Suffrage

WOMEN teachers in the schools of Independence, Mo., on September 23 announced that they would refuse to pay taxes until they obtained the right to vote. The teachers said that they had been notified that they were assessed $50 each and must pay taxes on that amount.

"They won't let us vote, we are not heads of households, and we don't propose to pay taxes," said Miss Anna Baskin, teacher in the Columbia School. "When they give us suffrage, then we will be glad to bear our share of the expense of government."

Law School for Women

THE first graduate law school in America devoted exclusively to women will be opened in Cambridge, Mass., this fall, with Professor Joseph H. Beale, of the Harvard Law School, in charge. The new school is to be called the Cambridge Law School for Women, and the lectures will be delivered in classrooms provided by Radcliffe College.

Woman Lawyer Writes Manual for Magistrates

THE legislature of South Carolina has adopted for the state a "Manual for Magistrates," written by a young South Carolina girl, Miss Ruth Durant Evans. Miss Evans' "Manual for Magistrates" was pronounced by the judiciary committees of the two houses complete in every respect. The legislature bought 1,000 copies for the magistrates of South Carolina. Miss Evans is deputy county clerk of Hamilton County, Tennessee.

First Conviction Under the Kate Adams Law

THE keeper of a disorderly resort in Chicago recently received a three months' sentence under the so-called "Kate Adams law." The case established a precedent, as it was the first conviction under the law. The passage of the law was the result of the unremitting efforts of Miss Kate Adams, secretary of the Coulter Home Association, which maintains a social settlement in Chicago. Miss Adams is a member of the Congressional Union.

How Long, Mr. President?

IN WELCOMING the G. A. R. to Washington on the occasion of its annual encampment, President Wilson said:

"Do you realize that only so long ago as the time of the American Revolution democracy was regarded as an experiment in the world, and we were regarded as rash experimenters? But we not only believed in it; we showed that our belief was well founded and that a nation as powerful as any in the world could be erected upon the will of the people; that, indeed, there was a power in such a nation that dwelt in no other nation unless also in that other nation the spirit of the people prevailed. . . .

"We now know and the world knows that the thing that we then undertook, rash as it seemed, has been practicable and that we have set up in the world a government maintained and prompted by the general conscience and the general conviction."

"Democracy" and "the people" are favorite words with the President. They are favorite words with suffragists, too. But so long as Mr. Wilson persists in using them in a sense that limits their application to one-half the citizens of the United States, we shall be obliged to call attention to his error, which is as inexcusable in a scholar as it is in a democrat.

Editors' Opinions on Woman Suffrage

ON OCTOBER 9 a special number of the *Literary Digest* will contain interviews by telegram with about one thousand newspapers throughout the United States on the question of woman suffrage. Replies from the majority of them have already been received, and at the present time about two-thirds of them are in favor of woman suffrage.

English Trade Unionists Hold Suffrage Meeting

THE suffrage question was introduced at the annual meeting of the English Women's Trade Union League, which was held in connection with the Forty-seventh Annual Congress of Trade Unions at Bristol. One of the speakers, Councillor Ayles, declared, "Man's idea that woman was not his equal was largely due to the fact that her inferior economic value in the labor market could be traced to her inability to vote at elections."

In the evening a crowded meeting, held under the joint auspices of trade unionists and suffragists, was addressed by Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Mr. George Lansbury.

The report of the trade union congress in *The Common Cause,* explains that the question of women's position in industry was crowded toward the end of the program by "the great national questions" of conscription, the safe-guarding of the interests of workers in war-time, and other problems connected with the war. Why conditions affecting women workers are not national is not explained.

Danish Suffragists to Aid Unenfranchised

ITS object being attained with the granting of the vote to all Danish women last June, the National Association for Woman Suffrage in that country has dissolved and reorganized as the Danish National Association for Woman Suffrage, in order to remain affiliated with the suffrage organizations of other countries and so support the suffrage movement where women are not yet enfranchised. At an open-air meeting following the annual meeting at which this reorganization was effected, Mrs. Elna Munch, a member of the new executive committee, spoke urgently of the obligation of Danish women to stand by their sisters in other countries, and to work for them with even more ardor than they had worked for themselves.

Suffrage in Italy

MRS. INEZ MILHOLLAND BOISSEVAIN, who has just returned from Italy, reports that the Italian Minister of the Colonies expects municipal suffrage to be granted to women as soon as the war is ended. "The woman suffrage party is small in Italy," he said, "but the men, in working to enlarge their own franchise, become insensibly converted to votes for women."

Quick Changes of Nationality

MRS. BOISSEVAIN, very unwillingly, on embarking in Italy for America, had to register as a Dutch subject. She lost her United States citizenship by her marriage about two years ago, her husband being a native of the Netherlands. He will get his naturalization papers in about two months, whereupon Mrs. Boissevain will automatically become an American citizen again. A situation which doubtless will be looked on by our descendants as one of the greatest of legal curiosities.

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SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

Suffrage Tactics

By Gail Laughlin

(From a speech given at the Woman Voters' Convention, September 16, 1915)

Eastern and Western Women at the Woman Voters' Convention

From left to right—Mrs. Margaret Zane Cherdron, Utah; Mrs. Lucius M. Cuthbert, Colorado; Miss Anne Martin, Nevada; Miss Gail Laughlin, California; Mrs. John Jay White, Washington, D. C.; Miss Louise Brigham, New York; Dr. Caroline Spencer, Colorado; Dr. M. M. Dean, Montana; Miss Doris Stevens, Nebraska.

TACTICS change with time and circumstances, and change most of all with experience.

I remember, when I was a child of about twelve or thirteen, and I had just begun to have an individual point of view of life and its meaning, it came to me suddenly, as a shock, that women did not vote; and I thought: "It must be that people have never thought of this, and I have only to mention it; and they will see, as I do, the strangeness of it." Well, I got a shock then as to my faith in human justice that I have never wholly recovered from, and it did not take very much to show me that the tactics of just mentioning it were not quite the tactics for winning success.

But the original tactics of the suffrage leaders were almost as naive as mine, for the first attempts they made to gain government recognition of woman suffrage were to ask Congress to declare that women were enfranchised under the Fourteenth Amendment. They just mentioned it to Congress and thought Congress would see it.

After they had mentioned it a year or two, they appealed to the courts. Susan B. Anthony claimed her right under the Fourteenth Amendment and voted and was prosecuted—not by her state government; she was prosecuted by the United States governm[illegible], and there was imposed upon her a fine of $100.00.

But she stood up in court and said, "I will never pay that fine," and she never did. I mention this so sometimes when you hear something called "militant" condemned, you will remember that nothing worth while has ever been won except by those who are willing to sacrifice freedom, labor or love for it. We owe our liberty to that spirit.

Women all over the country claimed the right under the Fourteenth Amendment and at last it came before the Supreme Court of the United States; and it, in a decision which in ages to come will be an eternal disgrace upon the records of the court, decided that women were not entitled to vote under the Fourteenth Amendment.

And so experience changed the tactics, and, like good generals, the suffrage leaders turned to something else. But not all of them! I met a woman in Kentucky who, twenty-seven years later, was still sending a memorial to Congress every year, asking Congress to declare women enfranchised under the Fourteenth Amendment. She told me, "They must see it, if I only keep it up."

BUT I want to say to you that I don't think she was much more foolish than those who are advocating asking for an amendment providing that when a percentage of the voters in any state shall vote to have the question submitted to the legislature, the question will be then submitted.

To say the least about that, it is an anachronism. Ten years ago I went to the legislature of California to ask for such an amendment in this state. In those days, when we had only four states, it was impossible to bring any pressure to bear upon Congress; and when we had realized that we could not get the Susan B. Anthony amendment, as it is now called, through, and could not get state legislatures to submit the question, we endorsed in the National Convention the principle of the initiative and referendum for the states, because we believed in that way we could get the question submitted. But today we can get referendums in more states than we can take care of.

At that time we endorsed the initiative and referendum for individual states, but never at any time did anybody ever suggest it for the United States, and I can visualize the wrath of Susan B. Anthony if that plan had ever been suggested, that would forever relegate us to the humiliating position of going and begging from every man, white, black or yellow, educated or ignorant, drunk or sober, citizen or alien, the right to vote. How it would have stirred the passion in her to have suggested that we accept this as a substitute for the amendment which would really make women free!

AFTER the early leaders had given up the Fourteenth Amendment, they turned to the amendment we now know as the Susan B. Anthony amendment. . . . .

Year after year, Susan B. Anthony and the other leaders went up against that wall of prejudice known as the United States Congress and asked for an amendment to enfranchise women, and year after year they went away disappointed; and then from far out across the snow-capped peaks of the Rockies through the darkness of their disappointment there came flashing a gleam of light. Wyoming, Colorado, Utah and Idaho, to their undying glory, declared the soil of their states free soil, on which women as well as men were free . . . .

SO that suggested another change of tactics, temporarily. We recognized in it the camel's nose, which, once inside the tent, would get the whole camel in. But none of the suffrage leaders looked upon it except as a temporary method. It was one way we could use to get as many states as possible—anything to get the vote for women!—but always the ultimate goal was the national suffrage amendment which was to come as the final thing. Whatever amendment we are for, we are all for national suffrage. That is our goal. We are all agreed on the thing to get. How, then, is the best way to get it?

Mrs. Mackrille has answered that the best way to get it is by team work of the women voters in the suffrage states. Miss Jolliffe told you that you have one-sixth of the House and one-fourth of the Senate and one-fifth of the Electoral College, and with that we can control Congress if we unite to do it. We do not need our whole four million votes.

It is possible, women voters, for us to realize our power and to use it for the liberty of the women who have not received it, and, as Mrs. Mackrille has so eloquently said, if we regard the rights and liberty of women as sacredly as we regard the rights and liberty of men, there is no answer but one that we would send back to the call of the eastern states to come and help them. We will send back the answer, "We will."

WE have talked here about party government and what it means. Representative government means the choosing of a paramount issue. That is what parties are for—to lay before you their policies; and there never was a party yet that had a platform in which everything pleased me or probably pleased any one here. We have to make our choice of the paramount issue and the party that comes nearest our views on it. Which is the great issue? It is nonsense talking about party disloyalty. If any other party's policies stand nearer your heart, then that is your party.

How do you suppose the suffrage principle has grown until we have this convention,—until we have eleven states in which women stand on a free equality with men? Not by women putting something else ahead! It reached that place only because there were thousands and thousands of women who like the leader put everything else behind except liberty for women. We heard what they said yesterday to you. Lucy Stone refused

(*Continued on page* 8.)

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The Susan B. Anthony Amendment

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE.—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

Into Congress, January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the U. S. Senate.

Reported from Committee,

In the Senate,

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.

In the House,

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate,

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 26 (of whom 4 were announced as for, and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House,

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204 failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Significance of the Woman Voters' Association

THE official report of the Woman Voters' Convention is now at hand, and makes more definite and clear the significance of this event in the history of the struggle for woman suffrage.

The call to the Woman Voters' Convention was sent far and wide in all the voting states, not only through a large mailing list, but through press articles which were given great publicity.

In response to this call, women from all the voting states attended the convention, many of them women of great weight in their own community, representing organizations over whose collective opinion they have considerable influence.

The resolutions were acted upon by every woman voter attending the convention, not by delegates representing restricted organizations in their own states, not by members of the Congressional Union alone. Every woman voter who wished to attend the convention voted upon the resolutions presented.

The resolutions were not acted upon until after prolonged debate. The opposition forces who supported the policy of endorsing also the Shafroth-Palmer amendment did not muster ten women voters; but they were given the opportunity to argue their case fully. Only at the close of the two-days' business sessions were the speeches and discussions limited to three minutes and the rule adopted that each voter should speak only once to the question. This rule was adopted by vote of the convention itself, and was necessary if action of any kind was to be secured upon the resolutions under consideration before the convention dispersed. The result of this policy was that the resolutions were thoroughly discussed. They were then adopted by an overwhelming majority.

These resolutions declared the enfranchisement of the women of the nation to be the paramount political issue before the people and the Congress of the United States called upon the next Congress to pass the Susan B. Anthony amendment to the United States Constitution and pledged those present to work for the amendment irrespective of the interests of any political party.

The convention further declared that the Susan B. Anthony amendment offers the only direct and effective method of securing national woman suffrage and resolved that the women voters present pledge themselves to work exclusively for that amendment and to record its unalterable opposition to the introduction to Congress of any other amendment dealing with the subject of national woman suffrage.

The deliberations of this convention were carried on under the light of searching publicity and were reported in the newspapers of every state in the Union.

Such resolutions might be adopted and still have little weight if the work of women who believe in national woman suffrage were to stop now; but the work in the west for the national enfranchisement of women is still only beginning, and it is growing at a tremendous speed. A year ago, in September, 1914, two women arrived in California to present the case of the disfranchised women of the East to the woman voters in that great state. In September, 1915, ten thousand people, some of them nationally and internationally known, gathered in the Court of Abundance to bid farewell to delegates from the western states who are to bear to Congress a petition of over 500,000 names, gathered in California alone on behalf of national woman suffrage. The Suffragist of October 3, 1914, wrote: "The movement for the organization of the women's vote is as yet but a little cloud in the sky, but it contains possibilities of power that we have hardly begun to appreciate." The country as a whole has now begun to appreciate the possibilities of power in the women's vote. The women of the West have begun to appreciate it and are determined to consecrate it to the highest end the establishment of democracy in this country by the liberation of the women of the nation.

Modern Politics and the Congressional Union

A GOVERNMENT of laws and not of men, is one of the myths of American politics," writes Spencer Miller, Jr., of the Industrial Relations Commission, in the *San Francisco Bulletin* (September 18). "A government of men and parties of men is the fact. For back of every law is a man executing it, and back of every administration is a party in control. * * *

"Responsibility, therefore, becomes a matter of party responsibility. And responsible government is the watchword of twentieth century politics. The problem of making government responsive and responsible is the problem of making parties in general and the party in power, in particular, responsive and responsible. External pressure seems to be the 'modus operandi.'

POLITICAL party pressure, far from being indictable, is highly commendable. It is not an attempt to embarrass a party, but rather to vitalize the contact between the people and the party. * * *

"For unless governments do respond to human needs and more accurately reflect in their operations the aspirations of the people, they have not justified their existence. More and more should government tend to become a barometer to social pressure. Consciously should it address itself to the problems of humanity. Organizations created with this purpose of intelligently directing governmental agencies are distinctly a public asset.

THESE are some of the outstanding facts of contemporary American politics. And this is one of the causes which has brought the Congressional Union into being. The effectiveness of the organization arises from this very shunning of the myths and seeing the facts of modern politics. It is an adaptation of twentieth century political machinery to twentieth century poltical conditions."

The Farewell to the Woman Voters' Envoys

THE dramatic night scene in the beauful Court of Abundance at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, which closed the Convention of Women Voters, opened both symbolically and literally, the western woman voters' campaign for the enfranchisement of the voteless women of the east and south. It was witnessed by ten thousand people, gathered under the bright-starred, deep-blue California sky. The throng gave Miss Anglin an ovation when she appeared at eleven o'clock to deliver to Miss Frances Jolliffe and Mrs. Sara Bard Field the resolutions and petitions they are to bear to Congress and to the President, and cheered the envoys as they set forth with their burden.

A vivid sense of the beauty and impressiveness of the ceremony is given in an article in the special "National Suffrage Edition" of the San Francisco *Bulletin,* from which the following extracts are taken:

THE great palace was softly and naturally lit except for the giant tower gate flaming aloft in the white light, focused on it as on some brilliant altar. Far below, like a brilliant flower bed, filling the terraced stage from end to end, glowed the huge chorus of women which was one of the features of the evening. Those at the top—hardly women—were the girls of the Oriental school, from midget size up—in quaintly colorful native costumes, under the care of Miss Alice Newhall. In the foreground were the Finnish, Swedish and Norwegian girls in their peasant costumes, and spreading the length of the stage, like a great living purple, white and gold flag of the Congressional Union, were massed the Union members in surplices of the organization colors. The effect was one of exotic brilliancy. * * *

Back of the stage curtaining the great arch fluttered the red, white and blue emblem of the nation that women have sacrificed as much to upbuild as the men; but significantly waving with the Stars and Stripes hung the great suffrage banner that ringingly declared, "We demand an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, enfranchising women." And the great crowd in the court joined in the swelling song that another band of women across the sea fighting for liberty had originated. Everyone was catching the words:

"'Shout, shout, up with your song!
Cry with the wind, for the dawn is breaking.
March, march, swing you along,
Wide blow our banners, and hope is waking! . . .
Comrades—ye who have dared,
First in the battle to strive and sorrow!
Scorned, spurned, naught have ye cared,
Raising your eyes to the wider morrow.'

AND then came the envoys, delegated by woman voters to carry the torch of liberty through the dark lands and keep it burning. And the dark mass below the lighted altar-tower caught the crusaders' spirit and burst into cheers."

The chorus also sang the "Song of the Free Women," written by Sara Bard Field to the music of the "Marseillaise."

Some scenes from the closing ceremony, Woman Voters' Convention September 16, 1915

First Chorus.

Hark! what hosts, white-robed, advancing
Through Night's dark portal to the Dawn?
What mighty purpose in their glancing?
What vision look they far upon?
What vision look they far upon?

Second Chorus.

We are women clad in new power.
We see the weak. We hear their plea.
We march to set our sisters free.
Lo! has rung the chime from Freedom's tower.

All.

We come. We come at last.
Night's portal we have past.
We come. We come. Trust thou our might.
Thou, too, shall walk in Light.

First Chorus.

On they come nor know retreating;
Eastward from the West they move,
Souls upon the Morning beating,
Womanhood made one in love.
Womanhood made one in love.

Second Chorus.

No more we bend the knee imploring.
No longer urge our cause with tears.
We have rent asunder binding fears.
We are women strong for women warring.

All.

We come. We come at last.
Night's portal we have past.
We come. We come. Trust thou our might.
Thou, too, shall walk in Light.

The speaking followed. Miss Frances Jolliffe said:

"We are going through the states where women are enslaved in the factories and the mills, where they work long, back-aching hours, and cannot register their protest in any way. We are only two women, but we go armed with the fighting strength of four millions to do our best to help to set other women free."

THE words of the two delegates were greeted with cheers. Then one of the nation's great actresses, Miss Margaret Anglin, spoke a few fitting words to them in the name of the women of the world.

"'I am not saying words alone,' she said. 'The hopes and the hearts of thousands of women go with you.'

"Then, all at once, the great brightly colored picture and its dark background began to disintegrated and fade. The court darkened, but bright masses of women were forming in procession to escort the envoys to the gates of the Exposition. Orange lanters swayed in the breeze; purple, white and gold draperies fluttered, the blare of the band burst forth, and the great surging crowd followed to the gates.

"There Miss Ingeborg Kindstedt and Miss A. M. Kindberg, of Providence, Rhode Island, who have purchased the car that is to take the crusaders on their long journey, met the procession. The Overland car was covered with suffrage streamers. Miss Kindberg was at the wheel. To the wild cheering of the crowd, Miss Jolliffe and Mrs. Field, the two envoys for Washington, were seated. The crowd surged close with final messages. Cheers burst forth as the gates opened and the big car swung through, ending the most dramatic and significant suffrage convention that has probably ever been held in the history of the world."

THE *Bulletin* says:

"There was probably not one man or woman in the great audience, judging from the hush that fell upon the mass of people at the beginning of the ceremonies, who missed the big significance of the occasion. In this tremendous Exposition of the high accomplishment of the men and women of the world, there had come together from the four points of the compass, from every State in the Union, women who felt they were fighting in a holy war. More than one-half disfranchised, they had poured into a free State to ask that the women of the West, with the power of the ballot in their hands, aid them in their struggle in the East—a struggle that has lasted half a century and more.

"And the Western voters in that convention assembled had arisen to this solemn demand almost as one women. They made definite plans for a coming campaign; they passed resolutions to be sent to Congress—and powerful are the resolutions that are backed by four million voters—and they had done more. They had elected delegates to carry the message to Congress, to appear before every Congressional committee, to see the suffrage bill through the House, and to stay until the last gun was fired!"

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Press Comments on the Convention

The Dawn of a Great Tomorrow

SIGNIFICANT above any other woman's convention was that of the convention at the Panama-Pacific Exposition of the Woman's Congressional Union, with Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont as chairman, which closed its three days' session on Thursday of this week.

From an historical standpoint it marked the first convention of women with political power in their hands. Many conventions have been held by disfranchised women, but never before was a convention of enfranchised women organized for the express purpose of aiding their disfranchised sisters.

Today the hope of the disfranchised women of the East is in the strength of the four million women voters of the West. One-fourth of the national Senate, one-sixth of the House of Representatives and one-fifth of the electoral votes come from the suffrage states. With this leverage in Congress the national amendment could be speedily passed if the woman voters would unite in demand of a single issue—in support of the Susan B. Anthony amendment for the national enfranchisement of women.

Forcibly, as never before, the convention brought out the fact that women, when aroused to the importance of it, will stand together in a fighting solidarity little dreamed of even by many of the women themselves. It has always been contended that woman is incapable of describing a greater orbit than the narrow circling about her individual man and family. The convention conclusively manifested the fact that woman is as much in the human race as man, equally capable with man of leading the successful life of the isolated self, together with that of an enlightened social self. Women possessed of all the feminine attributes, wives, beautiful mothers of families, flocked to the convention from all parts of the United States; women from the disfranchised East, women from every section of the suffrage states, to devise ways and means of freeing the disfranchised women of the country by an address upon the Sixty-fourth Congress, which convenes at Washington in December. Every session and function of the convention was signalized by unprecedented numbers and imbued with inspiring enthusiasm. Many made tremendous sacrifices of both time and money in order to attend and lend their unqualified support.—*San Francisco Bulletin,* September 18.

The Convention of Woman Voters

IN distant California a convention has just been held, the full significance of which is yet to be impressed upon the country generally. This gathering was the first convention of women voters ever held in the United States, and, while it was brought about and organized by the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, the delegates assembled in San Francisco represented, not a faction of the suffrage movement, but approximately 4,000,000 women of the country who already have the vote. The principal purpose of the gathering was to determine upon the best method of securing the ballot for their sisters who are not yet enfranchised. The fact that differences arose and were fought out as to the plan of campaign proved more than anything else the qualifications of the women for a share in politics and government to which they aspire. They displayed an earnest aggressiveness and an ability for management quite up to the masculine standard.

Whatever plan of campaign is to be pursued for the winning of the ballot, the San Francisco convention of women voters may be taken by our lawmakers as notice that they will have to meet the suffrage issue squarely and persistently presented by bands of capable women who are not prepared to recognize failure.—*Washington Herald,* September 17.

Congressional Union Convention for Woman Suffrage

HUNDREDS of women delegates will attend the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage which will meet in San Francisco September 14, 15, and 16. The delegates (who will come principally from the twelve western states which have equal suffrage laws) will represent more than 4,000,000 woman voters of the nation. Their powers may be realized by the fact that these twelve states are represented in Congress by one-quarter of the upper house, one-sixth of the lower house and they control one-sixth of the presidential vote.

Plans for making the power of these 4,000,000 woman voters felt at the December Congress in Washington will be outlined at the Congress by some of the leading woman suffragists of America.

The suffragists are working vigorously to obtain national suffrage and to this end delegates will be elected to represent the organization at Washington during the coming year. With so strong a representation in Congress at present, from twelve equal suffrage states, the leaders of the suffrage movement believe they see victory in sight.—*Ocean Park (Cal.) Journal,* September 8.

Mrs. William Reidenbaugh, of Idaho

Representing the Governor of Idaho, Wishes Western Envoys to Congress Godspeed on Behalf of Her State

The Women's Convention

A CONVENTION of great political significance will open today in San Francisco when the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage meets in the first national political gathering of women. The convention is important, not only because it is the first to really represent the voting women of the country, but because it marks the opening of the first big campaign in which women have gone to the women of the country for suffrage instead of to the men. Many politicians predict that this convention will mark the beginning of the end of opposition to the enfranchisement of women.

Colorado Springs recently entertained the State convention of the Congressional Union and saw that these determined women mean to bring results. The organization is allied with no political party, and its one ambition is to force the passage by Congress of the Susan B. Anthony amendment for suffrage. While some will not approve of the Union's methods, Colorado, having long ago granted the vote to its women, can realize the fight the Congressional Union is making and wish its members every success.

There are now 4,000,000 voting women in the suffrage States. Their votes give women a leverage in politics that can be put to tremendous use in going after what they want. If all the women want suffrage and fight for it, it is hard to imagine how a political party is going to be able to refuse them.—*Colorado Springs Gazette,* September 14.

Women Voters Hold First Big National Convention

A NATIONAL CONVENTION of women voters—just a few years ago the mere suggestion of such a thing would have been a subject for scoffing among the unthinking. For just a comparatively few years ago there were no women voters in the United States. But today women enjoy unrestricted suffrage in nearly half of the States. And today, in San Francisco, is assembled a great national convention of women voters. This convention is not a subject for jest and scorn. Even the shallow-thoughted scoffer has been compelled to respect the equal suffrage movement. Women voters have disarmed the scoffer. Instead of being ridiculous figures and nuisances in politics, women have been and are quite the contrary. They vote with as much intelligence as the average man. And they use the same good sense in discharging their political duties that they evince in the ordinary activities of life.

Could Susan B. Anthony and the other pioneer workers for equal suffrage know of the respect the voting woman commands today their spirits would feel amply requited for the sneers and derision they underwent in pioneering this great movement.

It is a fine compliment to California womanhood and to the men of California who, by their ballots, gave the suffrage to women, that this first big convention of women voters should be held on our soil. Nowhere else would it be more sincerely welcome. Nowhere else would the atmosphere be more sympathetic to the cause of suffrage for women.—*Pasadena (Cal.) Star,* September 14.

Assemble in Convention

THE fact that 3,000 women, representing 4,000,000 voters of their own sex, are now in session at San Francisco marks an epoch in the history of the country of more than passing importance. It is doubtful if any assembly of women called together in this country ever reached a higher intellectual level in its personnel. The most notable name in the modern science of education is included among the speakers, while still others rank high in the world of statecraft and diplomacy, philanthropy and the fine arts.

Such an array of women could not be a negligible quantity in any cause its members might espouse; and when the avowed purpose of this meeting is the uplift of women and the general welfare, the result of its deliberations could not fail to become a factor to be reckoned with.

The delegates have received a cordial welcome on the Pacific coast, and the proceedings will be followed with an attentive interest.—*Washington Post,* September 16.

Convention for Equal Suffrage

THE most significant woman's convention ever held in this country will come together on the fourteenth of September, when the great Woman Voters' Convention, under the auspices of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, convenes at the Panama-Pacific Exposition, bringing notable women from every section of the United States. This convention in San Francisco will in the future be marked with a white stone in the annals of the feminist movement of this country; it is the first political convention ever held by women in the history of the world; it is the first time woman voters have ever come together, animated by the single altruistic purpose of devising definite political programs for the enfranchisement of the non-voting women of a nation. . . .—*Stockton (Cal.) Record,* September 13.

CAMPAIGN THROUGH THE COUNTRY

Connecticut

Chairman: *Mrs. W. D. Ascough, 4 Washington Street, Hartford.*

A MEETING at which Mrs. Annie G. Porritt and Mrs. A. W. Chaffee were the speakers was held on Tuesday, September 21, at the home of Mrs. A. W. Chaffee, at Modus. Modus is a small country town, but there were already four members of the Congressional Union among the local suffragists, including the president of the Suffrage League.

Mrs. Porritt spoke on the Susan B. Anthony amendment, its history and the prospects for its passage in the next session of Congress. Mrs. Ascough followed with an account of the work that has been done by the Connecticut Branch of the Congressional Union in interviewing Congressmen and Senators and stirring up enthusiasm for the federal amendment. Much interest was shown and eleven new members joined the Union. A substantial collection was taken for the work of the Congressional Union.

Arrangements are being made for a deputation of working women to Congressman Oakey to ask for the passage of the Susan B. Anthony amendment by Congress. Stress will be laid on the enormous burden that is being laid upon women when they are compelled to win the ballot state by state, a burden that is far too great for working women to be able to bear; yet working women absolutely need the protection of the ballot to enable them to win decent conditions of living and fair compensation for their labor. *Annie G. Porritt.*

District of Columbia

Headquarters: 1420 *F Street, Washington, D. C. Tel. Main* 5436.

Chairman: *Mrs. Nina E. Allender.*

THE play to be given at Poli's Theater on October 4 for the benefit of the Congressional Union will be "An American Citizen." The selection is a happy one, as the title will remind every one in the audience of the purpose of the Union speedily to obtain all the rights of citizenship for those American woman citizens to whom they are now denied.

Miss Emma Waldo is serving most efficiently and successfully at the head of the committee which has charge of the sale of tickets. The Benefit is the District's first organized effort to raise money for the production of the Susan B. Anthony Pageant.

Street meetings have been held every night during the week of the G. A. R. encampment, and many veterans have been among the hearers. Mrs. Helena Hill Weed and Mrs. Minnie E. Brooke were the principal speakers.

Nina E. Allender.

Michigan

Headquarters: 29 *West Grand River Avenue, Detroit.*

Organizer: *Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore.*

WE HAD a wonderful street meeting Saturday night, the first of its kind ever held in Detroit, and the first suffrage street meeting of any kind since our last referendum campaign.

Our new chief of police said we might choose our own corner. "If anybody questions you," he said, "tell them I said the city is yours."

We selected a spot near the Soldiers' Monument, in the heart of the busiest part of the city. When our automobile, with its banner, drove up, a big crowd was waiting for us. Many of the leading suffragists of the city were in the throng. Mrs. Paul Reyneau and Mr. Howard Ives, of New York City, were the speakers. Mrs. Reyneau is very witty. While she was speaking the crowd grew so that it blocked traffic. A policeman told us we would have to move. We saw the necessity, and moved across the street. The entire crowd followed, and more joined it. Five car lines were held up and automobiles were stalled for several blocks. Again we moved, and held a third meeting at another point, the crowd still sticking to us. Later we passed the scene of our first two meetings, our banners flying, and the car was greeted with applause and cheers all the way down the square.

Meetings will be held in our large and beautiful room at headquarters every day next week. Headquarters has been a busy place the past week. Both men and women have been coming in constantly. We have been made to realize our importance by the number of politicians who have called to suggest various political schemes for advancing our work, and also to ask us to help them in getting at certain candidates. They have urged us to organize deputations to party conventions.

Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, Research Chairman of the Congressional Union, will speak at the Michigan state convention October 1, and at the evening mass meeting October 2.

The call for the convention has been signed by Mrs. Huntly Russell, Mrs. David C. Warner, Mrs. C. B. Hamilton, and Mrs. C. F. Rowe, all of Grand Rapids; by S. S. Mitts, of Saginaw, and Mrs. G. B. Jennison, of Bay City. Two thousand copies of the call for the convention have been sent out to all parts of the state.

Mrs. Russell is a member of the state board of the state suffrage association. Mrs. Jennison is the president of the Bay County Suffrage Association. She is getting up a large delegation of Bay City women to attend the convention. Mrs. Whittemore has visited Grand Rapids and Jackson. The women in these places expressed great interest in our policies and methods, and we expect a large number will come to the convention from these places. Lansing women are also enthusiastic and will send a large delegation.

Mrs. Kate V. English, of Saginaw, has joined the Union. She is the Congressional Chairman of the State Suffrage Association. She is enthusiastic over the Congressional Union deputations to Congressmen in this state, and said we could work together when we went to call on Mr. Fordney, the Representative from her district. Plans have been made for a deputation to Congressman-elect Loud of the Bay City District.

Among the prominent women who have joined the Union this week are Mrs. Marvin Chamberlain; Betsy Graves Reyneau, a leading young artist who has taken medals for her work and is making posters for the Congressional Union Convention; Mrs. R. H. Person, wife of Judge Person; Mrs. Mattie Eisenhart, pioneer suffragist of Ohio; Mrs. Margaret Johnston, leading club woman of Calumet, Michigan; Mrs. Margaret Alden, President of the National Press Women's Association, who has consented to handle the Michigan press work for the Congressional Union; and Miss Helen Porter, of the State Recreation Committee.

Margaret Fay Whittemore.

New York

Headquarters: 13 *East 41st Street, New York City. Telephone, Murray Hill* 5444.

Chairman: *Mrs. William L. Colt.*

CONGRESSMAN LATHROP BROWN, of the First New York District, received a delegation of members of the Congressional Union at his office, 14 Wall Street, on Tuesday, September 21, and promised to vote for the Anthony amendment in the Sixty-fourth Congress as he did in the Sixty-third.

Mr. Brown said: "I conceive that this proposed amendment will tend to adapt the fundamental principles of our government to the conditions of twentieth century existence."

Elizabeth W. Colt.

Oregon

Headquarters: 409½ *Morrison St., Portland. Tel., Marshall* 1703.

Organizer: *Miss Virginia Arnold.*

WE were most fortunate in having Mr. Spencer Miller, Jr., Ph. D. in political science in Columbia University, speak for us on Tuesday of last week. The fact that Mr. Miller had been in close touch with the work of the Congressional Union in Washington, D. C., knowing personally many of the workers there, made what he had to say of unusual interest to the people of Portland.

Mr. Miller, who was a member of the Industrial Relations Commission, said of the testimony of Mrs. Crystal Eastman Benedict before the Commission, "That testimony like Mrs. Benedict's, bearing on the relation between the disfranchisement of women and unrest in the labor world, should be incorporated in the report of an Industrial Commission is significant." "The righteousness of woman suffrage has got beyond the argumentative point, and failure to pass the federal suffrage amendment is due only to muddle-headed government," he continued.

He exhorted the Western women not to "lay down" and lose their feeling of responsibility for others now that they have the vote, but to rally to help the unenfranchised women of the East, and stand behind the federal amendment.

Virginia Arnold.

Virginia

Chairman: *Mrs. Charles V. Meredith, 204 East Grace Street, Richmond.*

OUR meeting at the corner of Fifth and Broad Streets, Richmond, on the evening of September 24, set the crowd to questioning and discussing in a way that showed unmistakably the interest that exists in this state in the question of a national suffrage amendment.

The meeting marked the opening of the autumn activities of the Virginia Branch of the Congressional Union. In the absence of the chairman, the treasurer, Mrs. Hill Urquart, took charge of the meeting, Miss M. S. Jennings assisting. Mrs. Roy K. Flannigan presided. The speaker was Mrs. William L. Colt, who is Congressional Union State Chairman for New York.

The *Richmond Times-Dispatch* asked Mrs. Colt for a half-page article on the Anthony amendment and the federal work done by the Congressional Union, for its Sunday edition.

Sophie G. Meredith.

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List of Contributors From September 20 Through September 26

Mrs. William Kent	$60.00
Miss Aline Solomons	2.00
Anonymous	.65
Mrs. W. J. Hawkins	5.00
Dr. Marie Equi	20.00
Dr. Margaret Stratton	5.00
Mrs. S. L. Kline	5.00
A friend	2.50
Mrs. Robert Fuller	10.00
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Mrs. H. M. Curtis	5.00
Dr. Caroline E. Spencer	1.00
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Miss Anita Bulmer	1.00
Anonymous	.50
Mrs. Lewis Nixon	5.00
Miss Harriet R. Spangler	3.00
Mrs. Sophie W. Sage	5.00
Miss Louisa C. Sturtevant	3.00
Mrs. Charles C. Keen	25.00
Collections	8.15
Membership fees	10.00
Sale of tickets	62.95
	$247.75

Contributions Made to Connecticut Branch

Mrs. Mary J. Rogers	$10.00	
Miss Agnes G. McCormick	1.00	
Mrs. C. M. Gallup	1.00	
Mrs. George H. Day	5.00	
Mrs. Charles Beard	10.00	
Miss Crothers	1.00	
Collection	3.26	
Sale of reports, etc.	2.95	34.21
Total		$ 281.96
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST		78,840.43
Total through September 26, 1915		$79,122.39

Members Who Have Secured New Subscribers to "The Suffragist"

(In this column we list the subscriptions sent in each week by our members. These are only a part of the total number of new subscriptions.)

SEPTEMBER 19 THROUGH SEPTEMBER 25

Miss Margaret Fay Whittemore	15
Mrs. A. R. Colvin	1
Miss Doris Stevens	1
Mrs. Virginia B. Blythe	1
Miss Elsie Hill	1
Mrs. Anna Delony Martin	4
Mrs. James Whittemore	1
Miss Adele Thorwarth	1
Mrs. W. T. Burch	2
Miss Helen Horan	1
Mrs. Josephine Peabody Marks	1
Total	29
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	1,355
Total number of new subscribers secured by members through September 25	1,384

Suffrage Tactics

(Continued from page 3.)

to marry Henry Blackwell because she wanted to give her life to this cause. He said, "Marry me and I will give *my* life to it!" We have another example in Susan B. Anthony. She told me, some three years before she died, that for fifty years she had not been at home for more than six weeks at a time; and she was a woman who loved home, friends and relatives as the very best of us love them; her paramount issue had simply been liberty for women. Mrs. Mackrille spoke of "every woman free by the grace of God." Yes, we are free by the grace of God, Mrs. Mackrille, but we are free by the expression of the grace of God through the self-sacrifice and the lifelong devotion of the women who made the liberty of other women the paramount issue. Susan B. Anthony had as one of her mottoes, "I know only woman and her disfranchised," and that was her life. Now when we woman voters take some part of the spirit of that great soul and say we know only our fellow women and them disfranchised, we won't have to have a voters' conventon. We won't have to talk about it, to argue; we will simply go and vote for it, and use our liberty to win liberty for the whole United States—yes, for all the women of all the world.

Deputation to Senator Shafroth

Colorado Women Support Anthony Amendment

SENATOR SHAFROTH had no sooner stepped on shore in San Francisco, returning from his trip to the Orient, than he was waited upon by a delegation of Colorado suffragists, who placed before him the keen interest in Colorado in the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and urged upon him the strong dissatisfaction among suffrage workers in all parts of the country with the second amendment introduced in the last Congress (known popularly as the Shafroth-Palmer amendment), which he had sponsored in the Senate.

Members of the delegation were Mrs. Lucious M. Cuthbert, of Denver, daughter of former United States Senator Hill, vice-chairman of the Colorado State Republican Committee and a member of the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union; Mrs. Theodore G. Smith, of Denver, wife of a prominent banker of that city; Dr. Caroline Spencer, of Colorado Springs, secretary of the Woman's Political Union of Colorado and secretary of the Colorado Branch of the Congressional Union; and Miss Gail Laughlin, formerly a practicing lawyer of Denver, who has recently moved to San Francisco.

The delegation, after presenting its views, stated that they were speaking, not only for themselves, but on behalf of the entire Colorado Branch of the Congressional Union, in accordance with instructions from the executive committee of the Colorado Branch to its delegates to the Women Voters' Convention.

Senator Shafroth stated that he always had and always would give his full support to the Susan B. Anthony amendment, and took under consideration the arguments of his constituents against the Shafroth-Palmer amendment.

Following the interview, Mrs. Shafroth accompanied the delegation to the opening of the Woman Voters' Convention and attended the luncheon at the Inside Inn, at which approximately 2,000 woman voters gave enthusiastic approval to the speeches in behalf of the Susan B. Anthony amendment.

All Mere Men Guess Wrong on Meaning of "C. U."

THERE were some men at the luncheon Tuesday—otherwise it was perfect. They banded together for protection—from the more deadly than the male, and one picked up a place ticket and said, "What does 'C. U.' mean?"

"Come up," hazarded one.

"With the dough?" asked the anxious inquirer.

"Congress Undone," "College Union," "Complete Unanimity" were all rejected, and a college professor guessed "Christi Urbs"—City of Christ.

"Not here," said all. "Might be some town East—Chicago or New York!"

Just then a woman passed, and one said: "Madame, what does 'C. U.' mean?" "Congressional Union," she said, and smiled indulgently, and added as she passed on, "It means 'Success.'"—*San Francisco Bulletin*, September 18.

Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

National *Political* *Non-Partisan*

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Securing an amendment to the United States Constitution, enfranchising women.

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Black and white and white lead, but purples are close in the race, as are also the new African brown and new greens, as well as navy.